634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
● 632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

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632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

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648 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is part of the state of Lio, is along the road in front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both
632 Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

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632 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitanschappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a
115 kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 578 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 614 476 237 They say that the bride price is necessary for marriage, and that the price is really high. They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to [436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be- [727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 582 [591] Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are concerned and residence is patrilocal. They did

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582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to (They did)
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

771 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
●632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

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624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwiria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen says, "big mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

● 632 622 624 614 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second thought may prove to be a kind of assistant kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly administrative officers, and are not "adat chiefs." The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as well as the other three mosa laki). This indicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong, territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere. Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the territorial organization, they had only localized clans. Thus they have the dual division of chiefs into the administration--territory and into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found 693 632 624 614 622 excellent substantiation of this in that a big case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for example the case in which the Dutch government was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged by the kapitan with the assistance of the four kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In a small case, however, involving adat, judgment is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases involve the kampong, which comes before the clan, I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere, acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the sike sani. It looks as though the old localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate. And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus even in succession they have the genealogical principle. It comes out clearly in these four adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 13--Analyst]

614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went 123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

123 only six, including me and Kattenburg, in the jeep. A wisecracking and obnoxious religious guru, who had started right off giving us a lecture on the virtues of Catholicism, got right in and displaced a better man.

632 The kapitan has no authority as I see it, and I remember the kapitan of Gunung Rodja who Ariens said has real power. He had told me that he had to help this kapitan all the time because he is so weak. He looks and acts this way, and is young anyway. He should have thrown the guru out. I would have done so, but I did not know what his influence really amounted to. Anyway, we finally got off with this unpleasant guru, who talked all the time in a raucous voice, the kapitan, the secretary (assistant) a nice lad, and a quiet relative of the kapitan who was dressed in adat clothes, a young man who sat in the rear box who said nothing. We went up the
487 dangerous road for 52 km., beyond Ndetosoko, pass-
133 ing a few kampongs, including the magnificent hillside kampong of Wologai, and Ndoeria. At km. 52 we turned off onto a grassy road and passed two kampongs on the twisting and high road to the mountain. We got there in two and one quarter hours in all, and it was a fine sight, on top of the world. The elevation is 1550 meters. Red lake is really almost brown. The green one is Nile green, and the blue one is robin's egg blue.
[262] We ate lunch, during which I found that in
521 Roworeke they eat dogs. The guru talked constantly, and the kapitan seemed to be dominated by him. The secretary was his butt and he constantly punched and pushed him like a real joker.

123 I got so sore at the pressure to take more
181 than four of them along that I threatened to go home and call off the trip. All the way I thought of how disagreeable these people were, except for the secretary and a few other young ones. The old ones are almost uniformly O.K. The guru is oily and loud and hearty.

●632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a R lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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578 nature of these people. He said there are many
●632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
178 patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
578 material culture and in level of living the young
561 people are not much different from the old. They do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

344 The next day we set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor. In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[Lie., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

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124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 197 829 We started, as usual, with social organization and had a terrible time with it. They are all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 621 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

	My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1.	Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2.	Worowai	Woro Wae
3.	Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4.	Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5.	Arereke	Are Reke
6.	Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7.	Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8.	Koavena	Koa Wena
9.	Vavoeü	Wawo Eoe
10.	Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11.	Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12.	Nioreko	Nio Reko

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	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13. Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14. Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15. Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
	16. Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17. Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
	18. Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said
[829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new
624 kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
[124] etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Be- [178] fore the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
[624] held by these suku were:

1.	Rewarangga:	Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2.	Reandona:	Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3.	Nggonggora'ba:	Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4.	Odja:	Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5.	Tibo:	Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

632 It can be seen that the kapitan descended
624 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
614 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapitanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

302 Kattenburg in a mountain kampong reported that he had seen a girl wearing lipstick. It was betel stain to which he is not used.

487 We left Ende for Larantuka on Tuesday, December 20, and after a long run through the mountains we reached Maumeri at noon. Then we went on an even harder run to Larantuka. This took all afternoon. The rain in the hills was bad. We passed through Tanai Ai and Lewotobi areas without knowing it. The land was very empty. I suddenly found that I was in Konga.

[485] Larantuka is the end of the world, and the pasanggrahan there was pretty primitive.

[443] It is hard to buy anything here in Larantuka.
[371] There is no electricity except in the mission,
797 and the latter runs the town and everything else of a western nature evidently. The place has an air of having been asleep for a long time. Behind it is the Ili Mandiri, the storied mountain of the ancestors of the Larantuka people. The
144 town is a mixture of natives and descendants of intermixed Portuguese as well as Malays from Malaya who came in a long time ago with the Portuguese. One can see all sorts of physical types. Outside the town along the coast is a
361 Mohammedan kampong, Kampong Baru, but there are few Mohammedans elsewhere. Most kampongs are behind the mountain. There are also a few on the way to Lewotobi.

●632 The next day we started out to see the area
361 behind the mountain, especially Leloba, where Vatter[1] worked. We passed through several kampongs of rather large but shabby look. This was especially true of Mudakaputu (seat of kakang of Mudakaputu formerly, although he is now at one of the other places, in Riangkamië, I think), Watuwiti, Riangkamië, and Wailolong. These are all together in one kakangschap (called gemeente here too by the people, and it is also one adat
632 area). This is the Blakang-Gunung. The Radja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

●632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago. [178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks, [435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the 797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They 177 use native songs with words in the native lan- 533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

trols this atomism.

The next day we went to the kampong, stopping at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiö had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then, we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

We talked about the way the old stories are dying out and the young people won't listen any more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang where they were to have a case hearing. It is evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

War

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo/ng/ Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
173 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

R

693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes. [614] And there is also a big suku feast when the [341] bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

796 241 574 527 000

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

Wae

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

We

614 166 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 773 824 784 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring below Weol. There are bamboo trees there descended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 784 562 783 Women from other clans marrying into Weol must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 632 624 622 [634] There is a nobility which applies to the radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the central kampongs of the gelarang districts, for example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

565 632 624 622 We of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

We.

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Weo

614 778 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 241 782 114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1] they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connection with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 ●632 651 466 624 476 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1] the people here still give tribute to the dalu when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls, etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now wants a new house he may no longer expect free labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 565 114 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi). Their descendants are still known. It is also true that new slaves were put in stocks (lampang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

114 582 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters, ●[632] however. They agreed that Coolhaas' on marriage 114 rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the 582 folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but 614 they say this is not too strong. Thus the rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the west, although not very far. It is about a one day walk from here. However, this is not by any means the method followed at all times, and actually only about twenty-five per cent of the women married in here are from Manges (Manges is now called Regak). These were originally from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan localized in district terms with marriage rules between clan-districts as in Wouden's style. The women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the clan which used to live in Weol also, when it was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang [166] men married Weol women led to more and more Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung are mainly, if not all, men who have married Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here and so the men must come to live in their wives' kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of Ndung.

582 Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol.
614 And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang.
583 Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang, but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which
582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter rule.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 We
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).1
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 I note on the map that place names recur
614 often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 The mandur said there is criticism of the
578 Radja today because he is not "one hundred per
632 cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of
648 Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, al-
186 though somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes1 says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

1 [See bibliography, Cat. IIB--Analyst]

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not
[197] so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

●632 The districts here are called kepala mere-
schappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
514 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 Every-
251 where around the earthen plaza there are corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

●632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

000 bands under their knees formerly.

582 Roworeke: On the next day we saw some progress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 346 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Suchtelen says are offering posts set before each house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen, is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru, [361] the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 361 [441] The Ende folk who live in the border areas of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

● 632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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●632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. [186] He agreed that every area had its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

614 361 Then I checked the place of origin of the suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo- [778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Waï came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

●632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

●632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguëh, the latter term meaning "descen-

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 The great suku feasts are a kind of re-
574 fresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku
632 of the area come and feast and pledge friend-
624 ship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for re-pairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed
[342] animals. Nowadays he throws them away after
[178] eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 As for legends and stories of the past, at
533 first they said that they have none, or rather
[124] that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 13-Analysis]

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaäh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Ketjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
●632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case hearing. His younger brother is the administrative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[565] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
[212] nobility the people would not follow him, and so I can see that they choose a man of the adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family for the administrative kepala kampong and in addition one who can read and write. Then they can keep the old man in the adat post.) Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
621 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
●632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same pattern holds for the district. The kapitan is the administrative man, and then the mosa laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This might be the same man, I suppose. Then they have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the kapitan), could ask questions and keep things in line. The kepala kampong must be present too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong). This case was one concerned with marriage. I must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administration. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are supposed to be used for administrative posts by the government. But they are rarely so used evidently, and this causes the dual system: adat and administration. They may coincide at any point. Generally, I think that

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632 622 624 693 631 Generally, I think that the government has not put adat chiefs (for example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I can think of the following possible reasons: (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the administrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

[565]

231 417 Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 211 Ngada "resting places" along the road are rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

831 614 241 796 784 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they may eat such food. This figures out to be roughly about one half of the year. Some of the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we 115 124 were finishing up the work he got a note telling him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

632 796 The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting [621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 721 We asked about the bonds of friendship and enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

We

582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

War

829 a small scale.

Everyone here knows the places in and the arrangement of the kampong and the district and the Larantuka town road. Perhaps only ten people know about the setup as far as Maumere, and probably only the guru is clear about the rest of Flores. Perhaps only two people know about the general arrangement of the geography of Indonesia. And except for a few place names and countries, no one knows about world geography.

One boy who is in the fifth grade knew the population of Indonesia, and he also knew the population of the United States! He was absolutely correct. Other people could not give this information, and as for other countries even he had no idea.

As usual we got a terrific reaction when we told them how few people there were in Holland. [797] [204] They muttered for several minutes. They said that two men in Wailolong and one in Leloba receive the mission paper. Perhaps ten other people borrow and read it.

484 521 203 The very few people who have visited towns outside of Flores are loquacious in telling about their experiences, mostly limited to kampong life. Others listen to this, but there is evidently very little reaction.

178 632 651 There has been just about no change in the political structure in the last fifty years here. The kakang and all others were here long ago. The kakang has shifted from one kampong to another and that's about all. The traditional system of government has seen little change. Taxation started forty years ago. Now they pay a tax of fl. 1.00 for each animal killed for food, and fl. 10.00 for each animal killed for sale. (This just about stops any chance of a meat-selling market or animal industry.)

000 Today there are more meetings and greater

346 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to get the folk to sell their tusks in order to get money to contribute to the new church. This works on the grounds that the people were careless with their fire in the fields when there was a high wind, and this caused the burning of the church. It is all a wily game, and the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the last few pagans. The guru is full of the propaganda of rationalization. For example, he says, how do we know where the ancestors are? If they led good lives they are in heaven; and if not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they were good they must be in heaven, even though they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common folk. This is why one must show respect to the uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of them are women. I asked how one got to be a molang, and he said that in general they get a call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 There are only two elected representatives
●632 here and also in Wailolong. The only election
565 in the area is for the parliament. There is
634 also a kind of election for the kakang. The
622 choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of
[646] the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 Then it came out that there have actually
634 been three phases in the kakang business: (1)
622 pre-1915: he merely represented the succession;
[178] (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

634 Until 1
●632 not so long ago there were three radjas there:
177 Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
[661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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632 634 622 [77] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
	Total	37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi there). 685 On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

½ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people putter about, for example, the old women make mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is redoubled each year, and if it is finally unpaid, there may be a court case and the person may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they borrow rice and corn and why they do this from kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in November and December, when the crops are growing. Thus if the population continues to increase, some will have to move. The reason the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's gardens was that there was an actual shortage of land. I didn't realize this trouble before. There are actually poor people here because the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even new gardens are possible here. But no one starves. I asked what the main worry was. They said getting cloth. It is very hard to get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those who do a bit of work in other people's gardens. The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In 1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang, the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

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622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

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648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

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666 (4) Lingkoadjang (East Manggarai)
646 (5) Reo (North Central Manggarai).
635 There is one elector for each five hundred adult taxpaying males. Thus there is one for Veol, and one for Ndung (i.e., for the Ndung gelarang). The kraeng who "works" with me is an elector from Veol. To choose electors, all five hundred men come (or can come) to the
632 place of the meeting. The dalu is the chairman, and the djurutulis sits apart and each man files past him and whispers his choice. He totals up the votes and announces the leaders. There may be four to six or more who become candidates for the position of elector. Then everyone files by again and whispers his choice. The winner is the one who gets the most votes.

From the Tjantjar district there are about one hundred and fifty electors (this means that there are in this area about seventy-five thousand "voters"). On the appointed day they come to Tjantjar (selected because it is on the road and centrally located), and a man from "the office" acts as chairman. Each elector gets a slip of paper and writes his choice on it. They are added, and the highest few are candidates. In the last election here there were three candidates: Dalu Rahong, a clerk in Ende named Hambur from Todo, and a guru from Ruteng named Tjangkung. The guru won, and became the Tjantjar area representative. Note that they can choose a man from anywhere in Manggarai. Conceivably all five members could be from one town! I think this is the English system too, i.e., a local representative need not be a local resident. Note that the dalu got on the slate (old influence) but didn't win (new influence).

634 I asked if there was any way to remove a
646 hereditary officer, for example, the radja.

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634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

[614] [632]

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 578 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[i.e., in Reo --Analyst]